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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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It is because men are unequal in ability and drive, in opportunities for recognition and advancement, in rewards for work done and services rendered, that people become restless socially. It is the inequalities of humanity that create the crusaders for equality. In the 18th century men looked to democracy as the answer to the inequalities amongst men, and now in the 20th men look toward socialism and communism.

Democracy, as we have tried to shape it in America, has been heavily impregnated with the Ten Commandments of Judaism and the spirit of Jesus. Because of this, we are suspicious of any system that advocates the big lie, covetousness, greed, the stealing of property, the destruction of life, and the taking away of liberties. Democracy condemns without reservations the confiscation of private property and capital by the state and the regimenting of human beings like animals on a farm. Our democracy is not perfect. Imperfections exist, but its virtues exceed those of any other system mankind has tried.

These observations moved me then to reach certain opinions concerning American democracy:

1. Democracy was never created to be a leveler of men. It was created to be a lifter, a developer of men.

2. Democracy was created to let the gifted, the energetic and the creative rise to high heights of human achievement and to let each man find his own level on the stairway of existence.

3. Democracy was created to help men meet responsibilities and shirk no duties. That is why our Nation has been concerned about the honest needs of its citizens. We lead the world in justice, even though justice does not always move with prompt alacrity. Our Nation has been noted for the size of its heart, and not merely for the size of its pocketbook.

4. Democracy demands that the Nation be governed by the capable, the honorable, the far-seeing, the clear-seeing, and not by mediocre men. In the beginning, it was so. May it be so again.

5. Democracy demands more from men than any other system in the realm of self-discipline, dependability, cooperativeness, industry, thrift, and honor. Democracy will not work when party politics are not guided by basic ethical principles. For a party to foster class consciousness, class conflict, misrepresentation, covetousness, violence, theft, and an open defiance of established law is to breed anarchy.

6. Democracy must give to all its people the following rights:

- The right to equal learning.
- The right to equal employment.
- The right to equal treatment.
- The right to equal justice.
- The right to adequate housing.
- The right to vote.

The meditations of the summer convinced me that governments of themselves cannot make men equal or remake men into the beings they ought to be. That is a spiritual venture, not an economic and political one. A change from democracy to either socialism or communism, or a change from private capitalism to state capitalism, will not solve the basic problems of mankind; it merely shifts the areas of power.

I am disturbed, therefore, when church leaders and church groups seem to advocate socialistic means and objectives as the answer to the problems of democracy, and especially to the problems of equality. This is especially true when certain leaders voice slogans that appear logical and Christian, but are not. Let me name four:

1. "The world owes every man a living." No, it doesn't. Christian ethics have never said so, and I have never known any man worth his salt who has claimed special rights under such a slogan. It is the cry of the

lazy, the inept, and the failures. Such a slogan is a far cry from our meeting the needs of the needy, which, of course, is our duty.

2. "Production for use, and not for profit." That sounds good, but it is as phony as a Russian promise. It is profits that have produced the blessings of our Nation and enabled her to be a blessing to the nations of the world. Profits are essential to the general well-being of society. When the state takes over under the slogan of "use, not profits," men lose their liberties and their standard of living. Such a switch merely augments the insatiable appetite of the state.

3. "Human rights, not property rights." As I look out over the world, one thing is clear: Where there are not private property rights, there are no human rights. Private property rights form the seedbed in which human rights mature. As long as private property rights are clear, human rights will flourish.

4. "The end justifies the means." According to Christian ethics the statement is not true. It was just such a statement that produced the crucifixion of Jesus, the torture of the martyrs, the burning of witches, and the denial of life and liberty to the inhabitants of current communistic lands.

Churchmen, whether lay or clerical, who seek to solve the problems of our society through socialistic processes, rather than democratic ones within the free enterprise system, are heading down a road that leads toward darkness. Only by encouraging Christians to envy, to covet, to be class conscious, to foster class conflict, and to approve stealing and even murder, can such objectives be attained. To realize them would bring about a broad denial of law and order and the orderly handling of social problems. Whenever we as a church, an educational system, or a Supreme Court encourage people to misrepresent facts, to use force wrongfully, to flout law and order and to stimulate bitterness and hatred, we depart from logic, Americanism and Christianity.

## BLAMING THE PROSPEROUS

I unhesitatingly oppose the use of socialistic and communistic methods in the solving of the problems of our free enterprise democracy. Our problems are problems of human nature rather than of economics and sociology. The man who has two cars is not preventing another from having one. The man who earns \$50,000 a year is not robbing him who receives \$300 a month. The man who owns a good house does not thereby force another man to dwell in the slums. And the people who prosper under our system cannot be blamed for the problems that plague the lives of those who compose the lower 25 percent of the Nation. The so-called privileged are not always a credit to either church or state, but they are not, in the main, parasites on the body politic. We are, therefore, wrong when we damn the successful, the wealthy, the enlightened, and the patriotic in order to gain what we call equality.

Having said that, let me hasten to add that the redistribution of wealth will not solve the human problem that plagues us. Wealth is not fairly distributed in any land under the sun; it never has been and, I presume, never will be. Nor do we solve social predicaments when we blame the top 20 percent of our people for the inequities that seem to mark the 80 percent.

Nor is it logical for our Government to be forever emphasizing the neglected duties of the employers, while ignoring almost totally the neglected duties of the rest of us. The wealthy have many sins to confess, but so do we. And when we come to the advocacy of moving from private capitalism to state capitalism, and the listing of the sins of democracy while ignoring its multiple virtues, and assuming that virtue resides in the

have-nots, but not in the haves, I can only shake my head at the presumed wisdom of such positions.

Let no one hearing my voice conclude that I am speaking as a have or a defender of the haves. Let no one believe that I am unconcerned about those in our midst whose rights are often ignored and whose status is questioned. I am not blind to the sins of the privileged any more than I am the sins of the underprivileged. The business leaders do not need my voice to defend their position; they are strong defenders of themselves. But I have walked the roads of life with men of all classes, and have reached one conclusion: "There is none righteous, no, not one." We are all bearers of the tell-tale gray of selfishness. The 5 o'clock shadow is on all our faces.

The Lord I love and serve was not overly optimistic about humanity. He knew man as he is, and worked with him for what he could become. He ministered to the multitude, teaching, healing, feeding, encouraging, comforting, but he never assumed that equality was part of the human scene. He talked of love and neighborliness, but not equality.

Perhaps that is why the New Testament puts the emphasis on brotherhood and not equality. It emphasizes responsibilities, not privileges. It stresses love toward God and love toward neighbor. It seeks to create a church that will be brotherly within, and concerned for those without. It urges men to find the God-way to selfhood, success and happiness, and offers a heat-treated cell to all who misuse life, be they rich or poor.

Paul, in his letter to the Church of Corinth, denounced the lack of brotherhood within the church, and urged men to be concerned for one another, but he did not assume equality to be one of the "must" characteristics of Christianity. It was not a matter of love without differences, but love in spite of them.

The church, as someone has said, learned a long time ago that it is easier to create liberty than it is to establish equality. It has always known that equality can only be had by a loss of certain liberties. If men want equality above all else, they may best find it in communism. If men want liberty and a fair portion of equality, they must turn toward democracy.

What the world needs is a change of heart, a change of climate born of faith in God, a reaching up that there may be a reaching out, a confession that produces a new dedication. This governments and laws cannot create, for governments and laws are but the reflection of the standards of a people.

Everything in social Christianity depends on the wise use of possessions, time and talents, and only when we, Christian members of a democracy, become good stewards of the things that bless life do we begin to move in the direction of righteousness and justice, peace and true prosperity.

## LIBERTY FIRST—THEN EQUALITY

The problem of equality may be in many ways the greatest problem of our day. We cannot solve it by government, and we shall not solve it en masse. Only when we as Christians take seriously the teachings and example of Jesus shall equality and liberty exist without detraction or subtraction. Only when we stand before God confessing our needs shall we be empowered to meet the needs of others.

If I must choose between liberty and equality, I must choose liberty and then hope and work for equality, for such seems to me to be the Christian's way.

## ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE SOVIET UNION

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, November 9 marked one of history's most

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tragic anniversaries. Twenty-five years ago, on November 9, 1938, Hitler's storm troopers turned on the German Jewish community, murdering and injuring large numbers of men, women, and children, and arresting 20,000 who were sent to concentration camps. Hundreds of synagogues were set on fire; thousands of shops and homes were looted and destroyed. So much glass was broken that the night has been described as "the night of the broken glass." The Jews had to pay for the destruction of their own property and, in addition, were shouldered with a collective fine of 1 million Reichsmarks.

This was the beginning of the campaign of organized terror and destruction that did not stop until the Nazis were defeated in the worst war of all times, and until millions of Jews were slaughtered.

Now, 25 years later, 3 million Jewish survivors of Hitler's Europe are being hounded by the Soviet Government that seeks to blame Jews for its moral and economic failures. Persecution of Jews is on the increase; the outlook is ominous. Jewish leaders are being executed following widely publicized show trials. The press, radio, and TV are heaping insult and slander on Jews, branding them as spies and swindlers. Synagogues are being closed, and Jewish cemeteries are being desecrated. This is a continuation of a policy begun by Stalin, and never repudiated by Khrushchev.

State sponsored anti-Semitism is often a successful solution to the problems of the state, functioning to direct public attention away from these problems, while projecting the blame to a defenseless scapegoat. This is a phantom solution, however, leaving the real problems unattended and out of sight where they grow undisturbed. The ensuing desperate situation breeds tyrannical leaders and predisposes to reckless explosions of international violence.

Mr. President, on the 25th anniversary of the beginning of the Nazi extermination program, we are reminded that the preservation of the liberties of all, and of peace itself, depend on the refusal of the civilized world to accept minority group persecution as state policy. We hope and pray that the Soviets will relent in this increasing campaign of anti-Semitism as required by minimum standards of human justice, and as so prominently expressed in their own constitution.

#### NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the National Committee for Support of the Public Schools was formed in January 1962 by a bipartisan group of national leaders in business, labor, agriculture, and the professions. Their goals are to promote an increase in financial support of public schools at all levels of government and a reorganization of school finance in order to develop a coordinated, fair and effective system of school support.

Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, whose efforts on behalf of worthy causes I need not enumerate for my colleagues, is the chairman of the National Committee. Mrs. Meyer addressed the Great Neck Education Association of Great Neck, N.Y., on October 23, and because her speech is so timely and thoughtful, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### IT PAYS TO EDUCATE

(By Agnes E. Meyer, chairman, National Committee for Support of the Public Schools)

That may sound like a materialistic title. But the plain fact is that our public school system has always been and still is the principal source of America's high per capita productivity. In the modern technological world—a world that is headed toward a new historical era in which our place amongst other nations will be a question of brains rather than brawn—education has assumed such importance that the country which does not value a first-rate system of public schools is doomed.

And yet we find growing resistance to the approval of school budgets and bond issues. This has happened in Great Neck and other communities. In some communities battles over school expenditures have left scars on the body politic. Nor can we look upon these contests as a struggle between the angels of light and darkness. Rather, the financial difficulties of the public schools derive mainly from these factors:

1. High taxation generally and especially at the Federal level.
2. Lack of realization by many citizens that the improvement of the public schools is a matter of high, if not of first, priority.
3. Our attempt to meet the mounting, and necessarily mounting, costs of public education by means of an archaic system of financial support.

The American public school system was built on a financial structure keyed mainly to the local property tax. A century ago this tax was an acceptable measure of fiscal capacity. This is no longer true. Yet we continue to pay most of the cost of a vastly increased public school bill by a tax on property. In innumerable villages, towns, and cities this traditional source of support for the schools has reached the maximum which it can bear. The real estate tax cannot be increased in many local communities without endangering the economic security of many households.

If factors such as those described have caused difficulties in Great Neck, one may readily imagine the problems encountered in the vast majority of communities which are far less favorably situated.

The States now recognize the necessity of State support for public schools. However, this support is curiously uneven, ranging from 90 percent of local school expenditures in one State to a paltry 12 percent in another. Furthermore, in most States the tax systems which provide the funds for schools and other State undertakings are frequently a hodgepodge and take little account of modern sources of fiscal ability.

Federal funds are now expended for literally hundreds of educational activities totaling \$2.2 billion in 1961-62. However, only a fraction of this amount directly aids the public schools in the localities.

Moreover, the Federal Government increases the difficulty in securing adequate State funds for public schools by the practice of making substantial grants to the States for several purposes, such as highway con-

struction, on a matching basis. Lacking such matching grants, the schools often are placed on a low priority when State legislatures appropriate funds.

There are a few fortunate and conscientious communities such as yours that spend \$1,250 a year per pupil. There is a far greater number that spends less than one-quarter of this amount per pupil, some because they are indifferent to education, others because they literally cannot afford a higher per capita expenditure. This inequality of opportunity for self-development is not only a grave injustice; if it is allowed to continue it will be a serious threat to the future of our Republic for it will result in an ever increasing illiterate, semieducated, illtrained proletariat—and by the designation proletarian is meant people having no stake in the welfare and progress of our Republic. By starting the schools in our city and rural slums we condemn the poor to continuing poverty.

How extensive is poverty in our country? Far more than most well-to-do Americans realize. It is officially recognized that one-fifth of the American people are living in extreme destitution. Above this poverty-stricken group are about 39 million people who fall short of what is considered in our country a modest subsistence. The chief cause of poverty in our affluent society is ignorance—the fact that these people happen to be born in localities where good education and training are not provided as a normal part of life. These lowest income groups are inarticulate and lacking in leadership. Thus most well-to-do Americans are unaware of their plight. I regard it as an important manifestation that the Negro is now voicing a protest against continued economic and educational neglect. It should help arouse the general public to the obvious truth that our underprivileged millions, whether black or white, must be given equal opportunity for self-development if our society is to maintain its former rate of productivity and progress. Nor is our democracy entitled to be called such, if we develop a class society in which three-fifths of the population is prosperous and two-fifths struggling to keep body and soul together.

In short, the whole muddled and varied methods of tax support for public education call for analysis, if we are to keep pace with the new and far more costly needs of a school system that will educate our children so that each and every one of them can develop his maximum capacities—we must have a system that can prepare our children to live in a changing world whose frontiers of knowledge are expanding at a frightening pace. Under the new economic, social, and scientific demands upon education, such schools will be very costly.

How can we pay for so expensive a system of public education? Realizing that even some of our most enlightened citizens are baffled by this fundamental problem, a National Committee for Support of the Public Schools has been formed by a bipartisan group of citizens from every State in the Union. What brings us together is our belief that survival and progress of the United States depend as never before upon the full development of our human resources. To pay for our schools is a difficult task, especially in a period when far too many Americans are appalled by the financial strain of military security and foreign aid, to say nothing of social security and unemployment insurance. But our national committee is convinced that better public education for all will contribute vitally to the solution of these problems by raising the rate of national productivity, and by producing the trained personnel that is more important to the security of our country than the atom bomb. If we are strong here at home we shall be better prepared to maintain the